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ABSTRACT

There has been growing recognition of the actual and potential contributions of women to the achievement of national development plans; in fact, national goals will not be met unless women become full participants in the process of social and economic development. Some attention has been focused on the potential of women's groups and indigenous non-governmental organizations working with women as valuable mechanisms for working with women and as resources for general development. Requests from indigenous women's groups to international or national women's groups and non-governmental organizations for assistance have grown, but the aid reaching them has not yet reached a critical mass which could lead to widespread impact. This paper's primary purpose is to explore the possibilities for strengthening the capacity of women's groups and indigenous non-governmental organizations as a development resource. Part I examines invisible contributions of women to social and economic development and need for incorporating their concerns in development plans and programs (80% of African and 75% of Asian women are rural and poor, and are unreached by development assistance). Part II focuses on institutional rather than programmatic components of a strategy for change. Recommendations cover impact on women (4), policy relevance (6), and channels for assistance (6). (BRR)

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WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

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WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS:
RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT

by

Katherine Blakeslee Piepmeir

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Policies stressing the need to reach women and bring them into the mainstream of development led to the discovery that women's groups which exist throughout developing countries are not only a channel for reaching women, but also a potential resource for development. My experience with women's groups began during my work with the Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme of the International Planned Parenthood Federation. This paper is a response to the increasing number of requests for assistance from women's groups and the interest and questions of donor agencies.

I would like to thank the AID/PPC/WID office for support; and Arvonne Fraser, in particular, for her ideas and encouragement. Her continuing pursuit of progress in this area has been the stimulus for involving many individuals throughout the world. Valuable insights were provided by Mayra Buvinic of the International Center for Research on Women, Judith Helzner of the Pathfinder Fund and Marilyn Hoskins. Joan Swingler of the International Planned Parenthood Federation Central Office deserves special thanks for her encouragement, support and invaluable advice.

SUMMARY

During the 1970s there has been growing recognition of the actual and potential contributions of women to the achievement ofnational development plans. In fact unless women become full participants in the process of social and economic development, national goals will not be met. A correlate of women's virtual exclusion from many large development programs is the fact that they are not included in many of the social and economic structures of their societies. In the search for channels to reach women and ways to facilitate their participation in development, some attention has been focussed on the potential of women's groups and indigeneous non-governmental organizations working with women as a valuable mechanism through which to work with women and as a resource for general development. Recent examples of the development achievements of such groups furthered interest in them. Some development assistance has been given to indigeneous women's groups often through international or national women's groups or non-governmental organizations. Requests for assistance from women's groups have grown, but the aid reaching them has not yet reached a critical mass which could lead to a widespread impact. The gap between large donor agencies and small local groups is wide and this is reflected in frustration from both sides.

The primary purpose of this paper is to explore the possibilities for strengthening the capacity of women's groups and indigeneous non-governmental organizations as a development resource. Working with and through such groups is only one part of the action necessary to increase the participation of women in development on an equal basis with men. While women's organizations cannot

provide the whole answer to the problems faced by women in developing countries today, they can form a valuable part of an overall strategy.

Part I. Women and Development examines the invisible contributions of women to social and economic development and the need for the incorporation of their concerns in development plans and programs. The rationale for and definition of 'women in development' are presented with some discussion of the types of assistance and programs necessary to bring about change.

Part II. Inducing Change begins by raising several issues that are inherent in programs for women or in re-orienting general development to incorporate their needs. The focus in this part is on the institutional rather than programmatic components of a strategy for change. The main emphasis is on the role of women's groups and indigeneous non-governmental organizations as resources for women's development. The implications of working with and through such groups for development assistance agencies and for the groups themselves are discussed. Some channels for directing development assistance to local groups through intermediaries are suggested. Finally recommendations for increasing development assistance to poor women through women's groups or non-governmental organizations with women's programs are made.

In conclusion, women's organizations can provide a valuable channel for reaching women with development assistance and can make significant contributions to the process of socio-economic development. But before their potential can be realized it is necessary to secure greater political committment for their

support at all levels; to examine the policies and procedures of donor agencies in relation to the needs of women's groups and the ways in which they operate; to find means of providing assistance which will build-up their capacity as development resources. This paper explores some of the issues and problems inherent in development work through women's groups and makes some suggestions for action. The next phase will need to include discussions between selected representatives of intermediaries working with local women's groups, regional or national collaborative institutions working in 'women in development' and donor agencies including field missions to devise specific action programs which can be undertaken. At the same time increased documentation of the development activities of existing women's groups should be encouraged and supported as an aid to policy makers and program planners.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I. WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT	4
THE INVISIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN	4
WOMEN'S DEMAND FOR PARTICIPATION	6
NEW DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES	7
DEFINING WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT	8
What Do Women Need?	9
Economic Opportunity	11
Appropriate Technology	13
Childcare	13
Education	14
Health Care	15
PART II. INDUCING CHANGE	17
PROBLEMS AND ISSUES	17
Special Programs for Women	17
Male Attitudes	19
Political Realities	20
Development Assistance	22
The Gatekeeping Function	23
RESOURCES FOR CHANGE	24
National Machinery	25
Non-governmental Organizations	26
Women's Groups	28
The Significance of Women's Groups	29
STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE	32
Criteria for Selecting Intermediaries	32
Strengthening the Capacity of Intermediaries	35
Management Training	35
Funding	36
Policy Influence	37
Mechanisms for Collaboration	37
National Level	38
Regional Level	39
Channels for Development Assistance	40
International Level	40
Regional Level	42
National Level	42
CONCLUSION	43
RECOMMENDATIONS	44
FOOTNOTES	47
REFERENCES	48

INTRODUCTION

The 1970's saw the emergence of several related trends in development thinking. Researchers began to gather evidence that women are a critical force in society and that without their full participation in the development process, national goals could not be acheived. Women themselves began to demand a more active and equal role in their families, communities and countries and, in particular, greater access to economic resources. Policy makers began to seek new models for development to replace traditional modernization strategies founded on the assumption that economic growth would raise the quality of life of all people through the trickle down effect. Emphasis shifted to meeting basic needs through programs based on equity and participation.

The convergence of these movements highlighted the need for new strategies which included the increased participation of women in development. In addition to the responsibility that governments must take to ensure that development is based on equity and participation, women's groups and indigenous non-governmental organizations working with women emerged as potential resources for development. Recent examples of the achievements of some women's organizations are probably but the tip of the iceberg of their potential contribution to improving women's opportunities and as a consequence to socio-economic development.

The activities of women's groups must be defined and set within the context of development rather than seen only as a means by which to advance the cause of feminism or as channels for social welfare. The importance of these groups lies in their ability to reach women who are not within the mainstream of the

social and economic process, who have no access to or are not yet able to take advantage of government services. Several contributions to development can result. Women's groups can help women help themselves at community level. They also can create entry points for women's participation in the development process, for instance, by arranging access to resources outside the community. General development gains will be enhanced by the greater participation of women. Finally, the theoretical and practical framework for development will be sounder if it is based on the needs and contributions of all members of society.

All too frequently requests for assistance from women's groups or non-governmental organizations working with women are frustrated by the policies and procedures of private and governmental donor agencies at the international level and also by national governments. Despite their apparently similar commitment to improving women's opportunities, the gap between large donor agencies and local non-governmental organizations and women's groups is reflected in frustration on both sides. If the potential of women's groups as a development resource is to be realized they must be given more support and it will have to be granted in a form compatible with their needs and methods of operation.

Working through women's groups and non-governmental organizations concerned about women is one strategy for increasing women's economic self-reliance and participation in development. While it is an important way of reaching women it cannot be viewed in isolation from other types of action and vehicles for change.

The ultimate purpose of this paper is to suggest means by which development assistance agencies can work with and support women's groups. In order to reach this stage it is necessary to begin with the rationale and assumptions underlying efforts to increase women's participation in development. Thus the task of this paper is three-fold. First, to examine women's roles and needs in relationship to general development, including the impact of women on development gains. Second, to discuss the existing institutional resources for bringing about change. Third, to examine how external donor agencies, international, regional and national institutions can work with or through women's groups. Specific recommendations on development assistance are made.

This paper is based on discussions with representatives of national and local women's groups in developing countries, international women's organizations, non-governmental organizations with special concern for women and donor agencies. Some of the material was gained from or corroborated by meetings and discussions held in Copenhagen in conjunction with the UN Mid-Decade Conference for Women.

PART I. WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

THE INVISIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN

In Africa 80% of the women are rural and poor, in Asia 75%.[1] They are the people most in need of but so far unreached by development assistance. And these women have an important but invisible role in rural economies. In the Commonwealth Caribbean it is estimated that women are responsible for 30 to 40% of the agricultural production. The percentage of economically active women who work in agriculture goes as high as 70 to 90% in some places.[2] Uncounted are many women carrying out farm support functions or providing free labor for their farming husbands. Food preservation and preparation are universal responsibilities of women. While there are important differences in the sexual division of labor between countries women are involved in nearly all aspects of the food production chain. Households in which women provide the economic and psychological support for the family average 30% throughout the world, ranging from 15% in Latin America to 22% for Central America and the Caribbean.[3] In Kenya the proportion of female-headed households reaches 40%. The contribution women make and the discrimination they suffer is summed up in the UN Programme of Action for the Second Half of the UN Decade for Women. While women "represent 50% of the world adult population and 1/3 of the official labour force, they perform for nearly 2/3 of all working hours and receive only 1/10 of the world income and own less than 1% of world property."[4]

The benefits women have received from modernization are not equal to those enjoyed by men; in many places the gap between men and women in terms of

opportunities and access to resources has widened.[5] In a world where increases in food production are desperately needed it is illogical to condemn a significant proportion of the agricultural labor force to inefficient farming because they are women. Finally, the prospect of continued high population growth means that women may lose more ground as the competition for ever scarcer resources increases. Ironically, if women do not achieve equal opportunities, fertility will remain high and their opportunities and those of men may be further diminished.

The key role that women play in development and the potential increase in productivity that could be achieved if they were given modern tools and training or employment in the formal sector have gone unappreciated by most development planners. There are several reasons why: 1) women's economic contributions such as fetching water, gathering wood, producing food for the family frequently have been left out of official statistics, 2) women have been most active in the informal sector of the economy, 3) women's economic remuneration where there has been any, has been lower than men's, 4) men traditionally have been stereotyped as breadwinners while women have been seen as breeders and consumers, 5) it has been assumed that women would benefit from modernization through the trickle down effect, 6) programs for women have been construed as welfare or consumption and thought to necessitate trade-offs with development gains, 7) women have not enjoyed a voice in community or national affairs equal to that of men. In short, women's role in development has been 'invisible'.

During the 1970's the complexity of women's roles and their impact on develop-

ment possibilities began to be unveiled. Statistics on the contribution of women to the survival of their families and their communities were collected. The stereotype of the male as universal provider was challenged by data on the proportion of female-headed households and also on women's contribution in families where the man was present. The fact that women have different problems from men requiring qualitatively different solutions weakened the argument for the trickle down effect. Analyses showed that attention to women's concerns did not decrease development gains, but in fact could enhance them.[6]

Despite the proliferation of research on women and development in the last five years, changes in programs and policies have been slow and inconsistent. The evidence and explanations of women's key role in development have been largely ignored by development specialists who continue to lament the lack of information upon which to base action.

WOMEN'S DEMAND FOR PARTICIPATION

Since 1975 when the UN held its first International Conference on Women in Mexico City, women have begun to demand a greater voice in the decision-making processes within their own societies and to ask for assistance in solving their own problems. The Programme of Action adopted by the UN Mid-Decade Conference for Women in Copenhagen in 1980 provides a strong statement on women's needs and demand for participation in all countries, developed and developing alike. The pressure by many women for equal opportunity is reflected at the local as well as at national and international levels. The demand for participation in development is not an extension of

cultural imperialism. The last decade has seen a growing awareness on the part of women, policy makers and programmers throughout the developing world of the need to re-define societal institutions and goals, and to find new development strategies based on participation and equity.

NEW DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES

The search for new development models is not the sole province of women. Theories of development assistance have shifted towards meeting basic needs and towards participation of the people themselves in the process. Over the past two decades the traditional approach to development based on economic growth and improved standards of living has been challenged and its ineffectiveness documented. The assumption that economic growth would bring benefits to all via the trickle down effect has been discredited. Economic growth has not resulted in the basic human needs of the poor being met.

Women are a powerful constituency for new development alternatives since they are not only the poorest of the poor, but also have different strengths, problems and responsibilities which are not affected by spill-over from benefits to men. Aid which meets the needs of women as they themselves define them and which facilitates their full participation in their societies is a start towards a re-definition of development based in equity, participation and quality of life, rather than on economic growth, social welfare or benefits for a privileged few. Reorientation toward concern for women as both beneficiaries and contributors to development may constitute the cornerstone of new development models.

Just as development can no longer be carried out so that developing countries can receive an unfair return for their contribution to the economic growth of developed countires women can no longer be expected to remain beyond the benefits of modernization which in many places they support with increasingly heavy burdens of work. Unfortunately, women are still largely outside the official decision-making process and have had little chance to explain their needs and obtain appropriate assistance.

DEFINING WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The phrase 'women in development' is used in many countries in both governmental and non-governmental programs. "Women in development" programs and policies are those which increase women's self-reliance and independence by facilitating their access to and capacity to use resources on an equal basis with men. This means activities which are development, not welfare oriented. Projects in which women are merely targets or beneficiaries of services are not women's development projects. An important element of the definition is that the women themselves have control over the resources, the decisions about the activities and the implementation, including division of labor and leadership. Women in development may include both projects specifically for women and general development projects which have incorporated the needs of women as an integral part of the project.

A strategy for women's participation in development is crucial for several reasons. Existing development structures are based on a male perspective which often does not make provision for the functions which have traditionally been assigned to women, such as child bearing and rearing, subsistence farming

and domestic work. In many instances women have been denied access to resources. Even where access has not been explicity denied, women have existed in isolation from the mainstream of society without links to government infrastructures, to development assistance, or to other women who might represent their concerns.

What Do Women Need?

If women are to become full participants in society, receiving benefits from and making more effective contributions to national development, a strategy for change must be broad enough to respond to their interrelated needs and roles. One of the most fundamental deterrants both to women's participation as independent and equal individuals and to the achievement of national development goals is their lack of economic opportunity, access to resources and to the tools and training for more effective productivity. But women's economic prospects are connected to their childbearing and rearing function and both are linked to educational opportunities. The pattern of their lives is affected by their domestic and subsistence functions, by cultural stereotypes, by conditions which affect their own and their children's health, and by development policies themselves.

Needs assessment is an important first step in planning development programs. But if the philosophies and perceptions of development specialists and funders are based on a stereotyped concept of women's roles and functions, not only are the real needs of women missed, but there can be no understanding of the dynamics of the particular society.

The roles and responsibilities of women have been invisible in both rural and urban areas because the framework for development has been based on information about what men do and therefore addressed only to male needs. Misinformation about rural women is even greater, not only because it is based on male perceptions, but also because it is frequently derived from an urban conceptualization of life. Thus, many rural programs have been based on information which is incomplete not in peripheral, but in fundamental ways. Development policies and programs which have failed to notice the integral part that women play in the dynamics of rural life cannot be founded on a true understanding of rural economies.

The imposition of male dominated development frameworks has resulted in the neglect of women's concerns and a negative impact not only on women, but also on the achievement of overall development gains. For instance, some development projects have been based on assumptions that men were the only significant agricultural producers and therefore they alone needed training and new technologies. Women's role in subsistence farming has been seen as an example of underdevelopment which should be decreased rather than a needed contribution to the survival of the family which should be made more efficient and effective and raised from subsistence level.

The success of development programs depends on the people's response. Their response is based on their own priority needs. Where programs have been directed to women, whether by governments or through women's organizations, often they have offered services dealing with health and nutrition, home economics or literacy which have not been central priority needs of the women.

The response has been low.

The best way to determine what to do and where to start is to listen to the women. We now know that women operate on the basis of rational self-interest. If what women say they need is not what men say they need, it is because women and men have different needs and start from different baselines. Neither is invalid, unless imposed on the other group; they are merely different.

Change in the following interrelated areas is critical to women's opportunity and ability to participate in national development.

Economic opportunity

The increasing marginalization of women's role in agriculture has serious consequences for the nutritional status and indeed survival of the family. Opportunities to earn income outside the home are increasingly important to women since many of the things needed to run a home must be purchased; at the same time the home is no longer the site of most types of production for which there is a reasonable economic return. Where women do not have access to income earning opportunities outside the home they become more and more marginal to the economic system and their families less well off.

In the absence of resources or income, women are economically dependent on men; this dependency has important ramifications. In many places it is related to continued childbearing in order to ensure economic support from husbands and sons. In such places girls are often viewed as an economic liability and married off as early as possible. Where women cannot accumulate any assets

or do not have access to credit their efforts to expand their own productivity are thwarted. Women's role in family and community decision-making is lowest where their economic dependency on males is highest. Ultimately women's equality will depend upon their economic opportunity and productive capacity.

There are myriad factors which determine the extent of women's economic power. Some are directly related to work and income generation. Others are indirectly related but nonetheless important.

Among the directly related measures which can facilitate women's participation in the economic system are:

1) vocational training for girls and women,
2) opening up of traditionally male jobs to women,
3) extension of credit to women,
4) establishment of cooperatives and provision of cooperative training,
5) establishment of marketing channels,
6) involvement of women in agricultural extension programs,
7) control of rewards of work.

There are two areas of need which are closely related to women's ability to undertake or expand their productive capacity. The first is appropriate technology, the second child care.

Appropriate Technology

Although accorded little significance in development plans, domestic and subsistence work plays a crucial role in the survival of many poor families. And women have primary responsibility for it. It can consume so much of a woman's time that she cannot produce a surplus and enter the cash economy. The burden of helping the women may fall on daughters who are kept out of school and thus condemned to follow the patterns of their mothers.

Many women and their families could benefit greatly from:

1) provision of appropriate technology,
2) training in new methods of work,
3) substitution of new activities,
4) improved access to water and fuel.

Childcare

Within the last decade the demand for childcare facilities has been heard in developing as well as developed countries, in rural as well as urban areas. The responsibilities women have outside the home whether in employment or farming coupled with weakening of the extended family in many places have resulted in increasing need for childcare. As standards for the mental and physical health of children rise, provision for their care and development grows in importance. In no country is demand being met through existing facilities. Often seen as social welfare or a responsibility of women, not of society, childcare has been accorded low priority in most countries. But if women are to work and participate fully in society, some of their child-rearing responsibilities must be shared by the community and by the fathers.

In the absence of extended family support and without childcare women have few options: 1) not to work (in many cases no option at all), 2) to work without adequate provision for their children, 3) to keep their elder daughters out of school to care for the younger siblings. Women's work and the physical and mental growth of their children, including regular school attendance of girls, are not luxuries but investments in a country's present and future growth.

Education

Equal education by itself is not enough to bring about social and economic equality between men and women. But it is a beginning for many girls and women. Education can increase a gril's awareness of life options beyond the experience provided by her own family. Girls' self-concept as the equal of boys can be enhanced by equality or education. Education also can give confidence to girls and women. Where work opportunities follow from education a girl dr woman may find the chance for greater self-reliance and autonomy.

The following initiatives can help women begin to enjoy the benefits of education on a more equal basis with men:

1) free and compulsory education for both boys and girls,
2) non-formal functional education programmes (including literacy) designed to fit into the lifestyles of women and girls,
3) efforts to encourage and facilitate girls staying in school:
   a) abolition of child labor,
   b) flexibility of school hours and periods of attendance,
   c) day care and appropriate technology to lessen demands on girls

within the home,

d) waiver of school fees for girls or tax incentives for education beyond a certain level.

Health Care

The unequal value placed on female children in some societies can result in inadequate attention to their health needs in comparison with males. As adults females frequently continue to suffer from unmet health needs. The reproductive function has exposed women to special health problems which under certain conditions are hazardous to them and their children. Safe and appropriate family planning services combined with MCH are basic to the health of women and children. But the reproductive health needs of women in some places have been subordinated to the demographic objectives and administrative needs of national governments and donor agencies. The difficulties of obtaining vitamin supplements for supply with oral contraceptives in one family planning program provides an example of insensitivity to the health status of women. Pregnant and lactating women have special nutritional needs. And the heavy work burden and frequent childbearing of the majority of women in developing countries continues to take its toll on their health.

Provision of primary health care which meets the special needs of women and their children is an investment in overall social and economic development. Not only can it enhance the strength and productive capacity of women, but also of the next generation. Health care must include attention to environmental conditions which impinge on health, such as clean water, adequate supply, storage and preparation of food.

The participation of women in health care services not only as beneficiaries but also in policy formulation and implementation is important. It can help make the services more sensitive and appropriate to the needs of women and also provide some sense of 'ownership' of the service which will enhance its effective use. The following can help improve the physical and mental health of women and children:

1) promotion of primary health care with special attention to the needs of women,
2) accessibility to integrated MCH care including safe, appropriate and effective family planning services,
3) food and nutrition programs based on needs of women particularly those who are pregnant or lactating,
4) increased involvement of women in planning and implementation of health care programs,
5) increased training and use of community health workers, especially women.

PART II. INDUCING CHANGE

Research results and experience working with and listening to women have indicated where women have the greatest needs. The concerns of women as well as specific recommendations for action have been articulated in the UN Programme for the Second Half of the UN Decade for Women. The potential for change depends on the utilization of existing institutions and resources and the creation of new networks and vehicles for reaching women. It also depends upon the realization by policy makers that women are an integral part of social and economic development and that without attention to their concerns development gains are unobtainable. Finally, the political commitment to act on this realization is critical.

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

There are several issues with implications for increasing women's participation in development that should be mentioned before suggestions for strategies can be made.

Special Programs for Women

All development projects affect women either directly or indirectly, if only through their impact on other family or community members or through changes in patterns of work or economic structures. Despite this, the majority are designed and implemented without specific objectives related to the situation and needs of women and without analysis of their indirect impact on women. Some policy makers feel that focussing on women's concerns necessitates a trade-off with other development goals. But recent analyses have shown that

rather than decreasing the positive impact on development, when benefits accrue to women, general development gains are enhanced.[7]

If large general development projects are implemented to incorporate women and their concerns, the impact on the women's lives and on the community can be significant. But positive gains to women do not result automatically from general development. Integrating women into development is not a question of tacking peripheral activities for women on to existing development programs. It implies a redefinition of goals and an acceptance of new assumptions about women.

The needs of women and the social and economic pressures which impinge on their lives differ from those felt by men. This means for instance that programs designed to enhance the economic productivity of men will not necessarily benefit women in the same way. Qualitatively different solutions are demanded and in many instances it seems necessary to mount women-specific projects as part of the strategy for women's eventual equal participation in society. Separate projects for women have sometimes met resistance from both those who are not sensitive or committed to women's concerns and also from those dedicated to achieving equal participation for women. Such projects have been seen variously as welfare, as unimportant due to size, as tokenism, as threatening to men, or as jeopardizing women's chances for equal participation because they treat women as a special group. If women are treated as a separate class or group indefinitely they will remain outside the mainstream of society, but initially their needs often may be better met through women-specific projects.

Special projects for women must be seen in perspective against the need for change on many levels and of many types. And they must be conceived as part of a development strategy for both women and men. Women's projects are not a panacea, but at some points in time and in some places they may be necessary and appropriate. They should be planned with the short term objective of facilitating women's access to resources and infrastructures that are available to men and the long-term objective of influencing development policies and programs to be truly responsive to the needs of all people.

Male Attitudes

Any goal of raising the status of women in developing countries through separate programs for women, however necessary, can also be regarded as a perceived threat to husbands and men in many countries. A not uncommon lament in Moslem villages, notwithstanding the prevalence of purdah, is that women are already too liberated, and the proliferation of articles and editorials on 'women's liberation' in much of the third world press further evidences the fact that this can be a highly sensitive issue which must be approached thoughtfully.

The implications of this for women's programs are clear. On the one hand, care should be taken to insure that the product of women's groups is shown to be of general benefit to the family and community, including men, and more importantly, that the process of forming and supporting women's groups secures the sanction of men and husbands in particular. Thus educating men about women's participation in development is a necessary part of any change strategy.

At the community level when projects are initiated for and by women, it is important to explain the objectives and activities to men, both the community leadership and the participants' husbands. While men do not have to participate or even enthusiastically support the activities at the beginning, they must at least not hinder them, or the chances of success will be jeopardized. When the impact begins to become apparent, the more active support of men should be sought. If the activities are to lead to greater access to resources and to continuing development, solid community support much of which involves male attitudes is important. At the planning and policy level, male decision-makers need both information and education on the significance of women's roles in rural and urban economies and exposure to the evidence that general development will be enhanced by improving the productive capacity and the participation of women.

Political Realities

The institutional structure within each country constitutes the environment within which development programs are planned and implemented. For example, strong ties between religion and state strengthen the influence religious leaders have on the definition of women's role in society. Strong community organizations may serve either to aid or hinder women's integration into development. Whether a society has a tradition of cooperative organizations affects the mechanisms through which the productive capacity of individuals and communities can be improved. In socialist countries where non-governmental organizations do not exist or are closely tied to government support for women's programs will need to be in accordance with government policies and priorities. The institutionalization of women's seclusion, the absence

of roles due to migration, dependence on foreign imports, etc., shape the roles and opportunities of all citizens and influence the path to change.

A further determinant of change hinges on the potential for participation of women within the system. Ultimately the purpose of women's organizations must be as much political as economic. If women's groups represent a new economic development strategy, they equally entail political development to bring about the wider participation of women in the development process. The question of whether economic development can proceed without political development is as valid for women as it has been for other groups and the answer is probably no. And self-sufficiency in a political sense may be as significant as self-sufficiency in an economic sense. Yet many persons writing on women in development see only the latter. The fact remains, however, that equal access to education, health care, agricultural loans, and the like will not follow from income-generating activities alone. What this means is that women's groups must play a political role in influencing policy and the allocation of government resources. They can only do this if they are well-organized and represented.

Development Assistance

The information and perceptions upon which development assistance is based are inevitably imperfect. But women's interests, roles and responsibilities are often misunderstood because they are filtered through the perspectives of two male-oriented structures. National and local institutions may disadvantage women as a result of their cultural beliefs and customs. Western donor agencies impose different but no less discriminatory frameworks on the roles of women; thus women's opportunities are doubly circumscribed by the prejudices of their own and of industrialized societies.

It is not only the ideologies but also the channels and structures of both national governments and donor agencies which militate against the type of aid most useful to women. For example, where community decision-making is dominated by men, or women are excluded from official positions except in token numbers, their concerns are not passed on to government policy makers. Where women are not members of agricultural cooperatives they often are not exposed to or eligible for the training and technologies available from extension services despite the fact that they may play a major role in agricultural production. The benefits of schooling accrue only to those who attend regularly. Girls do not attend school in equal numbers to boys.

The gap between donors and implementing agencies has been the cause of frustration on both sides. The problems of directing development assistance to the poor are not confined to women. But women are the least privileged members of all societies; their needs are therefore a poverty issue. Since it is very difficult to provide direct aid from large external donor agencies

to local community groups, regional and national institutions are vital links in the chain of assistance to the poor. Continuing development cannot take place without access to and integration into national infrastructures; thus the role of national institutions proves doubly important. Sometimes support can be channelled through governmertal institutions. It may also be given to non-governmental organizations. Which intermediaries or implementing agencies to support is an important question for development assistance agencies. Some criteria for selection will be suggested later.

The Gatekeeping Function

The term "gatekeeper" was first used to describe an individual who was instrumental in the diffusion of innovations between different groups. Research on the diffusion of technological information and other innovations pointed out the existence and importance of particular individuals in the diffusion process. These people were the bridge or channel for change, uniquely able to translate between two groups, enjoying credibility with both. In the development field there is a vital gatekeeping role, but in a broader sense than what was meant by the communications researchers who first proposed the concept.

It is essential to have individuals and groups who can bridge the gap between the needs and sensitivities of poor women often in rural areas and planners and policy makers often in capital cities. Some individuals have this ability; but it is increasingly necessary that the gatekeeping function be strengthened rather than left to chance. Some non-governmental intermediaries, including women's groups, can act in this capacity providing a two-way channel between

local communities and large external donors and policy makers. Within national governments it is also possible to have individuals or units which act in this capacity. The gatekeeping function cannot be standardized or institutionalized completely or it would lose its effectiveness which depends largely on empathy, flexibility and credibility; but it is a vital part of the process of change. Individuals and groups who are gatekeepers should be sought out and encouraged. Some women's groups may be able to provide a link between the needs of women and the objectives and mandates of policy makers and development assistance specialists.

RESOURCES FOR CHANGE

The focus in this paper is on the institutional rather than programmatic components of a strategy for change. Particular attention will be paid to non-governmental women's organizations, although their role and contributions cannot be considered in isolation from other non-governmental and governmental agencies.

Any strategy for women in development must be broad and be implemented through both governmental and non-governmental channels. It should be thought of as a program rather than merely an increase in the number of projects for women or projects which include a component for women. Both non-governmental organizations and governments have a role to play in providing women with access to resources with which to improve their living conditions and opportunities.

National Machinery

Over 100 countries have established government departments, commissions or bureaus for women.[8] Their location within government, degree of authority, capacity and mandates vary. There are several roles for such national machinery. Some women's bureaus support direct action programs while others act as coordinating or advisory bodies. Acting as a liaison between local women's groups and relevant government departments can be a valuable role for national women's bureaus. Effective links need to be established between national machinery, government planning units, and women's organizations. Communication channels between women's groups and sources of funding and technical assistance are also important and can be facilitated by government bureaus or commissions for women.

Such central bodies can also commission surveys to reflect the roles and needs of women, particularly rural women. They can support development of new methodologies for generating and utilizing data on women. They can review legislation affecting women and monitor its implementation. Publication and dissemination of information on women's legal rights and responsibilities has been supported by a few women's bureaus.

As with all other special efforts for women, there is a danger that a government can see the women's bureau or commission as answering all the needs of women and not incorporate their concerns into national social and economic plans and programs. If measures and programs for women are separated from major priorities, strategies and areas of development, they will not result in substantial improvement in women's position. If national planning bodies

fail to take account of the roles, needs and contributions of women in their data gathering and planning, the existence of a women's bureau or commission may make little difference to the women of the country.

Another model which has been suggested is to place small units concerned with women in each of the relevant and important government departments such as labor, economic planning, health, statistics, education, population planning. A comprehensive network of posts can be established at all levels, including the local administrative level as a means of ensuring effective action program implementation.

Non-governmental organizations

Governments ultimately must be responsible for promoting women's equality, not only in law, but also within the social, economic and political institutions of society. But governments cannot always move quickly nor do their policies and programs reach all the people. In considering mechanisms by which to strengthen women's participation in development, it is important to question and examine the roles of non-governmental organizations.

Non-governmental organizations probably always have played the greatest role in areas of society undergoing change. They can be most effective (backed implicitly or explicitly by government) where the government itself is not yet ready or able to move. As social change has occurred and governments have taken up the approaches pioneered by non-government organizations, the roles and areas of operation of the latter have necessarily changed. A notable example of the contribution to social change made by the private

sector is in family planning. Efforts to provide family planning information, education and services were begun in most countries by private organizations; governments followed these early pioneering stages with national programs. The struggle for women's equality and participation is another area where private groups have much to contribute.

Non-governmental organizations can perform a variety of functions, such as:

1) advocating change through pressure groups and active constituencies,
2) experimenting with innovative approaches,
3) providing flexible and quick responses to expressed needs,
4) supporting implementation of government policies,
5) serving people in areas where government services do not exist or people who do not have a claim on the governmental power structure,
6) providing a link between the needs of the poor and policy makers.

Non-governmental organizations cannot, with rare exceptions, provide assistance or services on a national scale. They cannot revise legislation or official regulations, although they can point out discriminatory provisions and lobby for change.

Non-governmental organizations do face some disadvantages. They often suffer from inadequate financial and human resources which affect their administrative and management capability. They may be forced to exist under more or less restrictive government regulations and the status and support accorded them by the government may vacillate. Despite their limitations, they have a number of vital functions.

Women's organizations and groups constitute a special type of non-governmental organization. They differ from most non-governmental organizations in that their membership is female and their primary concerns are the problems and needs of women and their families.

Women's Groups

In all developing countries there are women's groups either formal or informal. They represent many different interests and have quite different modes of operation, structures and linkages with both private and governmental agencies. Some are multi-purpose, others such as marketing or agricultural cooperatives exist for specific reasons. There are groups which have regional and international as well as national structures. There are also those which are local and operate in only one community. These may or may not be affiliated with groups at other levels.

Among indigenous groups, that is, those not operating beyond the national level, one fundamental distinction between groups is whether they exist to help their own members or to aid others outside the membership. Hoskins has referred to these two types as 'user' groups and 'intermediary' groups.[9] According to this scheme a rural women's self-help group would be a user group while an organization such as the Cairo Women's Club which supports development work with women who are not members would be an intermediary. Mandaeleo ya Wanawake, the largest women's group in Kenya, has characteristics of both since its local branches may be self-help groups while its urban leadership/membership supports and serves the affiliated groups.

The Significance of Women's Groups

Commitment to strengthening and utilizing women's groups as an important resource for development must be based on an understanding of what they have to offer. What can working through groups offer to women and to the process of development that differs from a program which provides services, training and opportunities to individual women?

Providing resources to individuals is not enough to ensure that a continuing process of change and development have been set in motion. When resources are given to groups (and care is taken to see that the individual members are full participants and that the group has control over the resources), the members have the social or peer group support necessary for individual change, the concept of self-help can be implemented and there is the possibility for some power and leverage or greater political participation to accrue to the group. Programs directed at individuals do not establish the same kind of supportive and development-oriented atmosphere.

The use of groups of all kinds (community, labor) for the achievement of development goals is important. For women working in groups may prove even more valuable for several reasons. In many areas (mainly Hindu and Moslem) women are isolated from direct contact with society. They are dependent on male members of their families who act as intermediaries between the women and the market place, health services, the political system. In such cases, for women to establish individual direct links with the outside would be too great a divergence from their society's norms. However, women could begin to participate in society and to develop as individuals through group projects

with other women. In other areas seclusion may not be prescribed, but women suffer from powerlessness in societies whose structures are conceived and dominated by men. As individuals these women have little chance of full and equal access to and utilization of opportunities and resources. In conjunction with other women, they may begin to help themselves and gain some access to the social, political and economic infrastructures in their countries.

The peer group support common among women who are members of segregated role relationships has contributed to the emergence of strong women's organizations in developing countries. This female peer group support is not as common in the West. Its potential as a mechanism for improving women's status and political participation and also for enhancing general development could be overlooked in both research and practical programs if they are based on Western models.

If the perceptions and needs of women which admittedly have been ignored in the design of development programs are to be incorporated in future efforts, it is particularly important to find a way to learn from and involve women. A group which represents the feelings, needs and priorities of its members provides a tangible two-way channel for reaching women which does not exist in programs directed at individuals.

Women's groups can be a mechanism for the expansion, spread or replication of activities or approaches, as well as the vehicle for change within an individual community. After accumulating their own assets, some self-help

groups have given financial assistance to new groups. Many local groups are associated with each other through national level organizations. Others have links with different communities through the shared use of markets, clinics, extension services. Some individuals are associated with more than one group.

It is tempting to think that small local groups could all become part of a national structure either governmental or non-governmental and that this could be an ideal way in which to enhance the spread of development. This may be possible in some cases. In others, local groups may avoid such links for fear of being exploited politically. Similarly, they may eschew close involvement with some external donors for fear of being overwhelmed and losing their own identity and priorities. Thus, it is important to encourage and strengthen these groups without overpowering or exploiting them.

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

A strategy based on working with women's groups as a means of increasing the participation of women in development involves several steps. One is the selection of the intermediaries through whom to channel assistance. This is important since it is not often practical for large external donors to fund local user groups directly. The next is providing assistance in such a way as to strengthen the capacity of the organizations for development work; this includes not only their ability to work with women in their local communities, but also their efforts to get women's concerns accepted by policy makers and incorporated into national plans and structures. A further step is to support the establishment and strengthening of networks and linkages between organizations working on behalf of women at local national, regional, and international levels.

Criteria for Selecting Intermediaries

The type of organization which is most appropriate to the role of intermediary or collaborating agency in development projects with women naturally differs with the community involved, the priority needs identified, etc. There are, however, some general criteria which could be used to assess the potential of women's groups whether user or intermediary, and non-governmental or governmental organizations, to make a positive contribution to the integration of women into development.

Development Orientation

Does the organization have a development orientation, rather than a welfare or 'do gooder' perspective? Many non-governmental organizations, including

women's organizations (particularly intermediaries), have begun on the basis of social welfare goals. Some of these are now changing as they gain a greater understanding of the real needs of women in relation to individual and national development. Indigenous user groups are generally formed to help their members solve individual and community problems which represent priority needs. Although these groups may not always have access to resources and infrastructures to the degree necessary for their members to make substantial development gains, they are generally initiated to solve real problems not as social welfare groups. A few indigenous groups provide social and emotional support for their members but may not engage in self-help activities as such. While many non-governmental organizations have an overall development orientation, their activities for women may sometimes be characterized as welfare, rather than development. Similarly, many governmental organizations do not view women's concerns as development issues.

Commitment to Improving Women's Status

Does the organization have an understanding of the real needs of women and a commitment to women's full participation in social and economic development? Some women's organizations and many professional non-governmental organizations and governmental agencies do not understand nor give priority to efforts to change the status of women but support, for the most part, peripheral or domestic acitvities for poor women. This may be an effort to assuage their own consciences, by complying with policies to assist women; sometimes it stems from lack of insight into the interrelationship between women's needs and socio-economic development.

Management Capability

Can the organization effectively implement development programs for women, facilitating access to resources, both financial and technical? Is it able to attract and account for external funding? Many small non-governmental organizations, particularly women's organizations, lack experience and need training in management as part of a grant for development work.

Flexibility

Is the organization flexible enough to respond to the priorities of the women as they themselves define them and to adapt to and encourage new project goals and activities? Can it develop and use innovative systems for project evaluation? Can it make room for the full participation of the women in the project design and implementation? Is the management willing to take risks?

Power

Does the organization enjoy power, status, leverage within the community and/or the country? Does it have access to technical resources, to the governmental decision making process, to the leadership of other organizations, to funders? If it is a government department, does it have access to the national planning process?

Future Prospects

Are the organization's prospects for the future strong, or is it failing to grow or adapt to changes in the environment?

Strengthening the Capacity of Intermediaries

If non-governmental organizations and women's groups in particular are to grow in importance as a development resource, attention must be given to their needs and way of operating. Three critical areas of need which should be considered by donor agencies are: management training, funding and policy influence.

Management Training

As intermediary groups become more development oriented, they must be able to raise funds, secure technical assistance, report their expenditures, monitor and evaluate their activities; all skills which may have been less relevant for an earlier advocacy or social welfare role. Raising funds and reporting on expenditures and activities are common problems for small non-governmental organizations. The form in which proposals must be presented varies from one donor agency to the next, but most prove difficult for small action-oriented groups to complete without help. Often local and national groups lack contacts or information on funding sources and thus are at a loss about where to begin to secure funds. Reporting requirements are also difficult for some groups. Management training is a common need recognized not only by outsiders, but also by the groups themselves. Assistance frequently must include a management and manpower training component.

Funding

In order for intermediaries to effectively implement programs for women, they must be able to secure funds appropriate to the expressed needs and absorptive capacity of the women participants. Indigenous women's groups sometimes need grants which are very small by the standards of governments or international donor agencies (they may be less than $5,000). These funds may be used to purchase grinding mills, water pipes, materials for income generation, appropriate technology, transportation. Village women may want a revolving fund with which to establish a small business. Seed money for the development of projects before their actual submission and approval is a common need. More often than not, such funds are difficult to get because the procedures and policies of donors militate against approving and administering small grants. If intermediaries are forced to raise funds on a project by project basis, they may find themselves continually negotiating for a series of small grants to be passed on to local projects.

Other difficulties can arise in connection with the timing and duration of funding. The time period between submission, approval and receipt of funds is often lengthy and the project participants may lose interest or faith in the donor or intermediary. Greater speed and flexibility in providing funds to such groups is needed. Many small development projects cannot achieve complete self-sufficiency in the three years that most donors are willing to fund a project. Few donors want to take over a three-year-old project, so obtaining funding for a fourth or fifth year may be difficult. Further constraints on funding stem from some donors' definition of priority countries or priority sectors. Coordination between donors could help insure that

needs in all areas and countries are eligible for support from at least one or two funding sources.

Policy Influence

Providing material resources to women without facilitating their political participation will not lead to real and lasting development. Access to local and national structures and to policy makers is important. Some private organizations have considerable leverage within their countries, others do not enjoy access to the decision-making process. Sometimes outside support can help private organizations gain recognition and exposure which may help them influence policies which are relevant to women. In many cases private organizations can increase their leverage by forging collaborative agreements among themselves so that they are able to approach policy makers with a united voice.

Influencing policy also depends on documentation of the needs of women, and of actual program experience in meeting some of these needs. Donors can encourage and support intermediaries in the preparation and dissemination of data on women's situation and of case studies of successful projects.

Mechanisms for Collaboration

Given the diversity of institutions and channels for development assistance to poor women, coordination and collaboration between organizations becomes important. It is through such linkages that new efforts can be built on existing experience, resources can be shared and leveraged, and solid and broadly based recommendations can be provided to policy makers. In short,

the goals must be to bring about an impact which is greater than the sum of all individual efforts. Linking individual efforts and organizations, both horizontally and vertically, can be a valuable means of increasing the spread of the approach. This is particularly important for small non-governmental organizations and women's groups whose work often begins on a modest scale with few resources.

Donors can encourage such collaboration by supporting: exchange of experience between groups, joint programs, coordinating bodies or committees. Following are some examples of mechanisms for collaboration that exist already at national and regional levels.

National Level

At national levels there are several types of collaboration. Links between organizations and activities both private and governmental may be provided through a central governmental body, such as a women's bureau, commission or council. Private women's organizations may be joined through an umbrella organization that coordinates and supports joint activities of members. Some private women's organizations have a national structure with branches throughout the country; support and technical assistance come from the national organization. The potential advantages of such cooperative associations are: 1) shared resources, 2) less duplication of effort or neglect of particular needs or geographic areas, 3) channels to external and national development assistance funds, 4) greater voice in the national decision making process, 5) ability to disseminate and administer small grants quickly.

Possible disadvantages are additional bureaucracy and increased jealousy between organizations. On balance it appears that the advantages of some type of collaborative arrangement outweigh the disadvantages provided there is mutual commitment to increasing the participation of poor women in development and that the organizational structure is workable.

Regional Level

The value of regional collaborative mechanisms depends upon the religious, cultural and socio-economic characteristics of the countries within the region, the geographic area and the political constraints. The most obvious example is the Caribbean where the advantages of a regional coordinating mechanism stem from the common problems of women living in countries too small and isolated to mount systematic programs on their own. The need for a regional institution in this situation was recognized and WAND, a Regional Institution for Women and Development, was established. Its objectives are to implement the UN Regional Plan of Action through training, technical assistance and communication. All regions have United Nations Regional Commissions which include centers or staff concerned with implementing the Regional Plans of Action for Women.

Channels for Development Assistance

There are several ways in which donors can direct assistance to indigenous women's groups or non-governmental organizations. Almost all involve the use of intermediaries.

International Level

There are a number of intermediaries at the international level which have relationships with or give support to indigenous organizations or individuals in many developing countries. They are important because most can administer relatively small grants to indigenous organizations out of a large program grant awarded for women's activities by donors such as USAID, UNFPA, or World Bank.

They may also participate in or fund collaborative efforts at international, regional or national levels. Some have supported research and data collection relevant to policy formulation.

There are three international associations with which national women's groups throughout developing countries are associated. They are the Associated Countrywomen of the World (ACWW), the International Alliance of Women (IAW), and the International Council of Women (ICW). All have international offices in Europe. Funding for indigeous programs can be channelled through these international associations.

There are also a large number of non-governmental organizations that have international offices dealing with a particular aspect of development or with

development in general. Some of these have an avowed commitment to women and have earmarked money from their regular budgets or received program grants for development projects addressed to women's concerns. These include the Centre for Population Activities, the Ford Foundation, International Friends Service Committee, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, the Overseas Development Fund of the League of Women Voters, and Pathfinder Fund. Some assistance has been successfully directed to development programs for women through these international non-governmental organizations.

Specific recommendations on development assistance to these intermediaries will be made in the conclusions. But there are several issues which should be mentioned. In the past much of the activity of the international women's organizations has not been development oriented. Recently they have become more involved in development through their local affiliates but their skills and organization capacity for development work may need strengthening as part of a program grant.

The non-governmental organizations have special women's programs which for the most part are carried out within the context of the organization's regular mandate. Thus these with a family planning or population focus tend to link their women's activities to family planning. Activities in the field tend to be collaborative efforts of several indigenous organizations since the international intermediary usually specializes in one area of development and therefore lacks expertise in other aspects of the project.

Regional Level

Support from external donors has been given to regional commissions of the UN, to regional research institutes, and to regional non-governmental organizations. Channelling support through regional mechanisms can foster collaboration between countries if if includes "technical cooperation between developing countries" (TCDC) or regional exchange of experience workshops or comparative research within a region. Although women's groups do not often have regional structures many non-governmental development agencies do. These may use program grants to support collaborative projects within the region.

National Level

It is possible to channel support to indigenous user groups through national umbrella groups, national non-governmental organizations, and governmental women's bureaus or commissions. Such support could emanate from an external governmental donor directly or be given through an international intermediary. Direct support to national groups can sometimes most practically be given by the donor representative or mission or embassy within the country. Some government donors channel such support through women's groups or non-governmental organizations based in the donor country who have contacts with organizations in developing countries. A few donor governments match funds raised by non-governmental organizations in the donor country for projects in developing countries. The Canadian MATCH organization is a good example of this.

CONCLUSION

Womens' participation in development will not be accomplished by provision of peripheral activities, such as handicrafts programs, home economics, or welfare-oriented services for women and children; nor will it result from economic development activities in which men are the only direct participants and beneficiaries. Governments are ultimately responsible for re-orienting development policies and programs to incorporate women's concerns. In the meantime, non-governmental organizations, particularly women's groups, have a vital role to play in instigating change.

Working with women's groups whether in programs for women only or as part of large development projects can provide practical benefits to women, but also, more importantly, give women a chance to develop their individual capacities through group work and begin to participate more actively in the mainstream of society. There are a number of references to the potential of women's organizations as a resource for development in the Programme for the Second Half of the UN Decade for Women. And there has been discussion and some aid given by European and North American donor agencies. But the amount of support has not yet reached a critical mass which could lead to a real and widespread impact. Donors can make a valuable contribution by strengthening the capacity and access to resources of women's groups so that they are able to realize their potential and make a significant difference to women and to development.

How can external development assistance agencies and programs respond to the needs of the local women's groups and facilitate their increased parti-

cipation in national development? External donors cannot easily or practically give direct aid to small diverse user groups in developing countries. In most cases, they need to work through intermediaries whether private or governmental.

The following are recommendations for directing development assistance to poor women through women's groups or non-governmental organizations with women's programs. Inherent in the recommendations are the need for support which: builds organizational capacity, fosters collaborative linkages at all levels, and facilitates preparation and dissemination of information relevant to policy formulation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Impact on Women

Women in development projects should meet the needs of women as they themselves define them and ensure the full participation of the women in the design, implementation and evaluation of the project. This includes their control of resources and responsibility for decision-making.

Women in development projects should provide participants with access to resources available to men and facilitate women's participation in the process of socio-economic development.

Women in development projects should focus on action leading to economic self-sufficiency and political participation.

Donor organizations should review and assess the appropriateness of their approval and evaluation procedures and criteria to development projects for women.

Policy Relevance

The critical contribution women make to the economic survival of their families and society should be documented for policy makers. Data on rural women and the subsistence sector should receive particular attention.

Donors should support projects at national level concerned with the generation and utilization of data on women.

Case studies of successful women in development projects should be carried out, published and disseminated. Studies of the impact of general development projects on women should equally be supported.

Women in development projects should be able to demonstrate to policy makers women's need and ability to participate in non-traditional activities.

Mutually supportive collaborative arrangements or linkages between non-governmental organizations, women's groups and governmental agencies should be supported.

Support should be given to projects to educate women on their rights and responsibilities within their societies.

Channels for Assistance

Donors should identify and assess international, regional, national and sub-national groups who are committed to and capable of meeting women's needs.

Contact should be estbalished between leaders of national women's groups and donor country representatives, missions or embassies in developing countries. Meetings or seminars should be arranged to explore needs for assistance.

Donors should supply funds and technical assistance to support the work and strengthen the capacity of groups at all levels working with women.

Donors should review their procedures to determine whether they are compatible with the needs and methods of operation of women's groups and other non-governmental organizations carrying out development work with women. Particular attention should be given to the need for small grants, quick response to submissions, flexible procedures and the possible need for funding for more than three years.

Whenever possible donors should not limit their support to particular project components or exclude particular components. For example, they should not fund only the family planning component or fund everything but administration or transportation.

Donors, women's organizations and non-governmental organizations with women's programs should jointly consider the need for new mechanisms for directing small development assistance grants to local women's groups.

Women's Groups

Donors should support women's groups in developing countries as a means of reaching poor women with development assistance.

Program grants to women's organizations at national or international levels should be considered as a channel for development assistance to local women's groups.

Program grants should be made to women's organizations at national and international levels so that they may disburse and administer small-size project grants to local women's groups.

Selection of women's groups (and non-governmental organizations working with women) to be supported should include the following criteria: development orientation, commitment to improving the status of women, organizational capacity, flexibility, power, future prospects.

Program grants to women's organizations at all levels should include a management training component as a means of strengthening the organizational capacity. This could involve technical assistance, preferably from local sources in management skills with emphasis on accounting and evaluation. The leaders of international level women's organizations could be given training in management capability in a joint training course.

Exchange of experience meetings, visits, and communication between women's organizations at all levels should be supported.

Non-governmental Organizations

Regional and national institutions working with women should be identified and supported with funds and technical assistance. Particular attention should be given to those that have a broad collaborative base.

Professional non-governmental organizations that want to work with women should be encouraged and supported in setting up new programs for women.

National Machineries

Donors should support the work of national machinery for women in development, including units within various governmental departments or ministries.

FOOTNOTES

[1] While statistics on rural urban divisions by sex vary some, the majority of women in the Third World are rural and poor. See Youssef (November 1971).

[2] See Newland (1979) Chapter 7 for a discussion of women's role in agricultural production.

[3] For data on and discussion of female-headed household see Buvinic and Youssef (March 1978).

[4] United National Programme of Action for the Second Half of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace (August 1980).

[5] See Boserup (1970) and Palmer (1980) for discussion and examples of the negative effective of development and modernization on women.

[6] See Palmer (1979).

[7] Ibid.

[8] According to government responses to a UN questionnaire about special bodies charged with implementing the World Plan of Action, 115 governments from developed and developing countries cited the existence of some sort of national machinery. See "Women in Society: a 1980 People Wallchart" (1980).

[9] For a discussion of this classification, see Hoskins (1980).

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